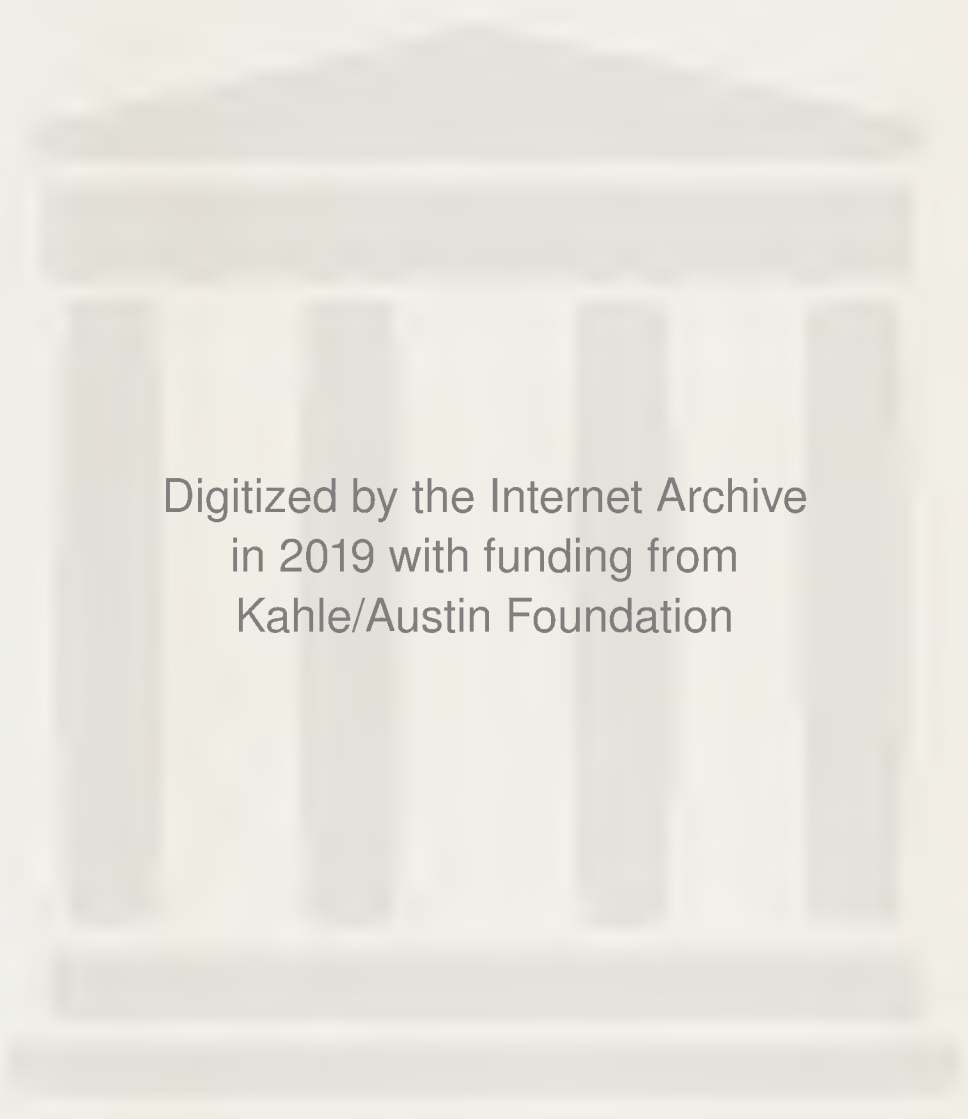


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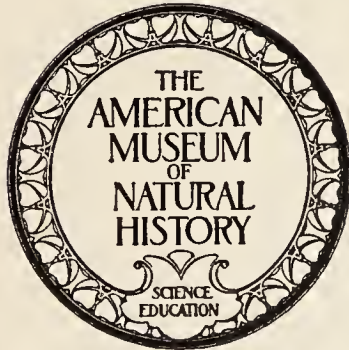
VOL. XIX, PART II

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THE HISTORY OF PHILIPPINE CIVILIZATION AS REFLECTED IN  
RELIGIOUS NOMENCLATURE

BY

A. L. KROEBER



NEW YORK  
PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE TRUSTEES  
1918

GN<sub>2</sub> 177 V. 19, p. 2



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## PART I. ANALYSIS OF THE NOMENCLATURE.

The cultural relationships of the several Philippine peoples are considerably illuminated by the religious words used by them. Religion has the advantage, in an inquiry directed to such relationships, of being comparatively independent of the physical soil. Whether rice is grown in an open field or under irrigation is likely to be in some degree a function of climate. At least a people may know both of these methods but be compelled to practice only one of them. A specific religious element held in common by two nations, however, is obviously the result of their having at some time come under a common cultural influence. Among such elements, names are the best indices. Rites or beliefs become modified, or may be only partially similar, so that information must be detailed before they can be adjudged as belonging to one or to more classes. Names, after their dialectic alteration is allowed for, are either the same or wholly different. Distinctly proper names, such as the designations of deities and ceremonies, are particularly valuable, since their original identity remains beyond suspicion even when their meaning changes radically.

## THE BLUMENTRITT DATA.

Blumentritt's "*Diccionario Mitológico*"<sup>1</sup> is an assemblage of practically all religious names reported from the Philippines up to 1895. The following list is an extract of those shared by two or more tribes. Additional entries from newer sources have not been made, although they would have increased the total, because the Blumentritt data seem ample for the comparisons desired. Also, the Spanish materials compiled by him promise not to harmonize very satisfactorily at some points with the information secured since the American occupation by students working from other points of view.

1. *Religious Terms Common to Several Groups.*

*Anito*, spirit. Pangasinan, Sambal, Tagalog, Bikol, Bisaya, Bagobo, Magindanao.<sup>2</sup>

*Adimat*, *aguimat*, amulet. Tirurai, Moro.

*Alamat*, "tradition," divination. Tagalog, Tirurai.

<sup>1</sup> In W. E. Retana, *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, II, Madrid, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> The word *anito* is not counted as Igorot because of its adoption by the Spaniards and consequent possible introduction by them into certain regions.

*Asog*, priest. Bikol, Bisaya.

*Asuang*, demon. Pampanga, Tagalog, Bikol, Bisaya, Mandaya.

*Bailan*, *belian*, *baglan*, *babailan*, priest medium. Ilokano, Bikol, Bisaya, Mandaya, Bagobo, Tirurai.

*Bangan*, etc., a goddess. Ifugao, Igorot.

*Baon*, *balon*, boat offering to dead. Tagalog, Bisaya.

*Bathala*, *batala*, *bahala*, *Badlao*, *Batla*, a god. Pampanga (a bird), Tagalog (chief god and a bird), Bikol (a spirit), Bisaya (idols), Mandaya (a god).

*Bayok*, *bayoguin*, transvestite priest. Sambal, Tagalog.

*Bongo*, *bongan*, *bongat*. Bikol (a demon), Tirurai (abode of dead), Bagobo (a divination).

*Bugan*, a goddess. Ifugao, Igorot.

*Busao*, demon. Mandaya (essence of a god), Bagobo, Tirurai, Magindanao, Manobo.

*Amanolay*, *Anagaoley*, a god. Gaddang, Pangasinan (idol).

*Diwata*, *devata*, *dewatu*, *dewa*, etc., gods or spirits generically. Bisaya, Subanun, Mandaya, Bagobo, Tirurai, Magindanao, Manobo, Tagbanua, Batak.

*Kabal*, *kebel*, charm or herb of invulnerability. Tagalog, Bisaya, Tirurai.

*Kabigat*, a god. Ifugao, Igorot.

*Kabunian*, *Buni*, a god, or chief deity. Apayao, Kalinga, Ifugao, Igorot, Ilokano.

*Kanyao* (*cañao*), ceremonies generically. Ifugao, Igorot.

*Katalonan*, *katolon*, *katoolan*, priest or medium. Tagalog, Bisaya (if prophesying).

*Laki*, *Apo-laki*. Pangasinan (war god), Bikol (mountain monster).

*Laloan*, *laraouan*, mourning rite. Bisaya, Bagobo.

*Limokon*, omen bird. Bisaya, Mandaya, Bagobo, Tirurai.

*Lumaoig*, *Lumabil*, god, or chief deity. Ifugao, Igorot.

*Malim*, *Taga-maling*, a giant. Subanun, Bagobo.

*Manaug*, idols. Mandaya, Manobo.

*Mangalo*, *mangalok*, *mangangalek*, an evil spirit. Bisaya, Magindanao (shake with mysterious fright), Balalacaunos of Palawan.

*Mantala*, formula. Tagalog, Bisaya.

*Naga*, prow figure, monster fish. Pampanga, Tagalog, Tirurai.

*Nagbuagan*, evil spirits. Ifugao, Igorot, Tinggian.

*Nonok*, *nunuk*, sacred *baliti* tree. Tagalog, Bisaya, Tirurai.

*Pati-anak*, *ti-anak*, *pati-anay*, demon from foetus. Tagalog, Subanun.

*Rahu*, *lahu*, moon-devouring monster. Tagalog, Magindanao.

*Sakuyan*, miniature boat for offerings. Batak. Bagobo, Tagbanua, Basilan, same custom.

*Sanian*, a god. Ifugao, Igorot.

*Siling*, *siring*, a demon. Subanun, Bagobo.

*Sitan*, *Pandake-sita*, *saitan* (Satan), class of evil spirits. Tagalog, Bisaya, Tirurai.

*Sui-gaguran*, *Gugurang*. Bisaya (a god of lower world), Bikol (a god).

*Taguibanua*, *Tagabanua*, *Banua*, a god. Bisaya, Mandaya, Bukidnon, Batak.

*Tali*, *pag-tali*, a divination. Bisaya, Mandaya.

*Tanggal*, *mag-ta-tangal*, headless demon. Tagalog, Bisaya.

*Tatao*, *taotaohan*, *taootao*, idols. Igorot, Tagalog, Bisaya.

*Ulango*. Tagalog (spirit house), Bisaya (a shrimp used superstitiously).

## DISTRIBUTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE.

Expressing in figures the names shared by tribes and groups, we obtain:—

2. *Religious Terms Held in Common.*

	No. of Terms	Igor.	Ilok.	Pang.	S.- Pamp.	Tag.	Bik.	Bis.	Mind.	Pa- law.
Igorot (including Ifugao, Tinggian, Apayao, Ka- linga, Gaddang)	9	8	1	1	—	1	—	1	—	—
Ilokano	2	1	×	—	—	—	1	1	1	—
Pangasinan	3	1	—	×	1	1	2	1	1	—
Sambal-Pampanga	5	—	—	1	—	5	3	3	4	—
Tagalog	17	1	1	1	5	×	3	12	9	—
Bikol	8	—	1	2	3	3	×	6	5	—
Bisaya	21	1	1	1	3	12	6	×	12	3
Mindanao (all groups)	24	—	1	1	4	9	5	12	11	4
Palawan (all groups)	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	4	1

It is clear from this table that:—

(1) The Igorot group is sharply marked off from all other peoples on the islands. Practically all the terms shared by any Igorot tribe with any other tribe are shared with other Igorot tribes, and with them only.

(2) All the other groups do not fall into well defined classes. All seem to possess certain elements in common; the degree to which they share or fail to share these with each other is proportionate to their distances from each other.

Ilokano alone may possibly link with the Igorot group as closely as with the others. The numbers are too small for a decision.

Sambal-Pampanga has definite affinities as far south as Mindanao, but ties up most closely with its immediate neighbor Tagalog.

Tagalog in turn has a greater proportion of similarities with Bisaya than with Mindanao, as would follow from the intermediate location of Bisaya. But the ratio is about what would be expected from the geographical positions, and gives no indication whatever of any special affiliation of Tagalog and Bisaya, as if they had constituted a definite cultural group contrasted with Mindanao.

The same appears from the Bisayan figures: twelve terms shared with Tagalog to the north, twelve with Mindanao on the south. The ratio is really somewhat higher for Tagalog (12-17) than for Mindanao (12-24), but not notably so.

Bikol leans to the south: six of its eight names recur in Bisaya, five in Mindanao, only three in Tagalog. If the Bikol language shall prove on systematic comparison to be closer to Bisaya than to Tagalog, as has sometimes been asserted this south-



ward affiliation of Bikol religion would be at least partly explained, for the group would then be essentially a Bisayan branch settled in Luzon. Until this point is determined, the geographical explanation is the simplest. The Bikol peninsula is but slightly connected with the Tagalog portion of Luzon, but juts out toward the Bisayas and in part faces them, so as to constitute virtually a northern Bisayan island.

Mindanao is far from a unit. Of its twenty-four shared terms, only eleven are recorded as common to two or more Mindanaoan tribes, twelve recur among the Bisaya, nine with the Tagalog. It would be very unjust to set off its pagan tribes as constituting a separate class analogous to the pagan Igorot of northern Luzon.

Palawan, finally, has evidently received the imported part of its ancient religion from Mindanao and the Bisayas, whence also Mohammedanism and Christianity respectively reached it, not to mention the Filipino immigrants now settled on the island, who are part Moro and part Bisaya speaking. In other words, the relations of trade, culture, and migration between Palawan and the remainder of the Philippines were evidently the same before the Spanish discovery as since.

The uniqueness of the Igorot<sup>1</sup> group recurs in other phases of culture as also to a certain extent in physical type and speech, and is discussed in detail in the second part of this paper. It is however notable that the peculiarity of the Igorot is much greater in their religious nomenclature than in their religious concepts or practices. While their religious terms are almost all peculiar, their beliefs are much more similar to those of the other Filipinos, and their ceremonial acts very nearly identical. Farther, it is chiefly proper names that the various Igorot tribes tend to share among each other. Designations of rituals, of ceremonial apparatus and personages, are rarely common to more than two or three Igorot divisions, and often are peculiar to single ones.

The Igorot, then, in spite of their apparent unity as against the remainder of the Filipinos, and in spite also of the comparative crowding of their several divisions into a small geographical compass, have diversified considerably *inter se*.

#### OTHER DATA.

The following lists, in which the older data compiled by Blumentritt have been combined with more recent information, illustrate (1) these intra-Igorot relations; (2), the endless diversity shown by the Filipinos generally, not only in nomenclature but in the details of their religion; and (3), the basic identity that runs through their religious attitudes and practices. The lists may also be of some service for reference.

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<sup>1</sup> The word "Igorot" is used throughout this paper as a conveniently brief term meaning "pagan mountaineers of northern Luzon other than Negritos." It therefore includes the Apayao, Tinggian, Kalinga, Bontok, Kankanai, Nabaloi, Ifugao, Gaddang, and probably Ilongot.



3. *Chief Deity.*

Ilokano	}	<i>Ka-buni-an, Buni</i>
Apayao		
Ginaan Kalinga		
Northern Kankanaï		
Nabaloi	}	<i>Lumawig</i> (syn. <i>Kambunyan</i> )
Bontok		
Goban Kalinga		
Tinggian		
Sambal	}	<i>Lakwit</i> (?), goddess.
Tagalog		
Bikol		
Bisaya	}	<i>Kadaklan</i>
Mandaya	}	<i>Akasi</i>
Bagobo		
Tirurai		
Subanun		
Tagbanua	}	<i>Bathala</i> (Sanskrit <i>bhaṭṭara</i> )
Batak		
	}	<i>Gugurang</i> (god prayed to in greatest ceremony)
	}	<i>Dia</i>
	}	<i>Laon, Laon, Lalahon</i>
	}	<i>Sidapa, Sidapau</i>
	}	<i>Mansilatan</i>
	}	<i>Pamuluk Manobo</i> (creator) or <i>Tigyama</i> (?)
	}	<i>Tulus</i> ("knowing")
	}	<i>Gulai</i>
	}	<i>Manalok</i>
	}	<i>Banua</i> ("earth")

4. *Ka-buni-an, Kambunyan, Buni, Funi.*

Ilokano, Nabaloi, Northern Kankanaï,<sup>1</sup> Ginaan Kalinga, Apayao, chief god.

Bontok, synonym of Lumawig, the usual name of the chief deity.

Southern Kankanaï,<sup>2</sup> generic name for god or spirit, synonym of *anito*.

Tinggian, a powerful spirit, but not the greatest; institutor of most ceremonies.

Ifugao, name of the lowest sky.

Goban Kalinga, known (as a deity).

With the exception of the Ilokano the tribes knowing Kabunian are all of the group here designated as Igorot. Conversely, every known Igorot tribe employs the name in some religious sense.

5. *The Igorot Cycle of Hero-Gods.*

*Kabigat*. Nabaloi, most frequently mentioned character in myths and formulas, and evidently the most admired; Southern Kankanaï; Ifugao, an important hero; Bontok, the moon deity, female.

*Balitok*, "Gold." Nabaloi, sometimes appearing as the brother of Kabigat, sometimes alone; Southern Kankanaï; Ifugao, sometimes the brother of Kabigat, sometimes the son of Bugan, sometimes of Wigan.

*Bugan*, the most famous heroine of romance, myth, and formula. Nabaloi, sometimes the wife, sometimes the sister of Kabigat, also of other heroes; Southern

<sup>1</sup> Of Lepanto.

<sup>2</sup> Of Benguet.

Kankanai; Ifugao, sometimes the sister of Kabigat, sometimes of Balitok, sometimes of Wigan, sometimes daughter of Tadona, sometimes of Hinumbian, sometimes of Wigan, sometimes the goddess of locusts; Bontok, sister of Fatanga, wife of Lumawig.

*Bangan, Baingan*, another heroine or goddess. Southern Kankanai; Blumentritt "Igorot" and Ifugao.

*Wigan*, a hero or god. Nabaloi, sometimes the brother of Kabigat; Southern Kankanai; Ifugao. The name may reappear in Vigan, the capital of Ilocos Sur.

*Singan*. Nabaloi, a rice protecting goddess; Southern Kankanai.

*Bintawwan, Binantawan*; Southern Kankanai; Ifugao.

*Lumawig*. Nabaloi and Southern Kankanai, a hero in tales; Ifugao; Bontok, usual name of the greatest deity.

This list can no doubt be extended considerably. It includes only the deities most frequently mentioned. These are the heroes of romantic tales and of myths and narrative formulas; they are less frequently sacrificed to.

It is clear that many of these names are used rather randomly. Very similar narratives are told of quite different personages, and almost any personage is likely to appear in any tale. The names appear to float loosely in the body of myth, and to be typical rather than individual. In part this instability may be due to local differences within a single group; but much of it is inherent. Sometimes we encounter two personages of the same name in one tradition. The same personage stands variably in the relation of brother and husband, or of father and brother, to another. The case of the Ifugao Bugan in the list is typical.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that no Igorot group adheres to a consistent scheme of kinship or active relations between these god heroes.

As to a grouping within the Igorot area, the Tinggian are conspicuous in not participating in the recognition of this set of deities. As the largest published collection of tales, formulistic and explanatory myths, and fable is from the Tinggian, there can be no doubt on this point. Apo-ni-tolau, Apo-ni-balagen, Apo-ni-bolinayen, Apo-ni-gawani, and Kanag are the nearest Tinggian equivalents of Kabigat, Balitok, Wigan, and Bugan.<sup>2</sup>

As to the Apayao, Kalinga, and Gaddang, no data seem to be available. The Nabaloi, Kankanai, Ifugao, and Bontok form a substantial unit, with the Bontok perhaps more differentiated from the three others than these from one another.

## 6. Leading Ceremonies.

Tinggian: *sayang*, over heads.

Apayao: *sayam*, after harvest, an important rite.

Ifugao: *uyawwe*, to show rank, or *hongga*, for welfare, or *kulpe, kolating, tungul*, agricultural.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Beyer's remark in *Philippine Journal of Science*, VIII, sec. D, 114, footnote 66, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> Cole, *Field Museum of Natural History, Anthr. Ser.* XIV, 6, 1915.

Northern Kankanai: *bayas*, to show rank, or *begnas* (syn. *pakde*), for welfare.

Southern Kankanai: *mandit*, to show rank.

Nabaloi: *pachit*, to show rank, or *bindayan*, over heads.

Tagalog: *pandot*.

Bikol: *atang*.

Bisaya: *balilik*.

Mandaya: *bililik*.

Bagobo: *ginum*, "drinking," agricultural and for welfare, perhaps originally over heads.

Subanun: *buklug* (name of a dancing platform): against illness, for a good harvest, or for the dead.

The greatest rite and festival held by each group is not always easy to determine, perhaps because the natives do not so rank their ceremonies. List 6 makes an attempt to collect the data on this point. It is clear at once that there is no one outstanding ritual common to all the Philippine tribes or even to any considerable body of tribes. The elements or patterns of rituals are widely diffused in very similar forms; the particular mosaics of ceremony constituted from these elements vary kaleidoscopically; the names are equally unstable. This fact indicates a diffusion of religious material over the entire archipelago, but in a detached or unsystematic condition; and numerous independent local combinations of this common material. There clearly were few definite cults worked out by one people and adopted in their entirety by others; and certainly no waves of organized religion spreading from the more advanced to the more backward nations. It is true that the Mandaya share the *balilik* with the Bisaya, and that the Kankanai-Nabaloi *mandit* or *pachit* — the two words are one, etymologically — is likely to be connected with the Tagalog *pandot*. But we do not know that the rites themselves were as similar as the names. The diversity between the Tinggian *sayang* and the Apayao *sayam* makes it possible that the other ceremonials with common names were considerably dissimilar. And in any event it is clear that nothing like any organized cult (other than Mohammedanism or Christianity), nor even a single ceremony as definitely unique as the Sun dance of the Plains or the Hamatsa of the Northwest Coast of America, is traceable through the Philippine Islands or any considerable portion of them.

#### ■ RITUAL MOTIVES.

The same conclusion appears from a review of all known Philippine rituals, as presented in Table 7. The occasions for ceremonies, or their motives, are obviously much the same everywhere in the archipelago — clearly so for the modern pagans of northern Luzon and southern Mindanao, and apparently also for the ancestors four hundred years ago of the groups

that are now Christian and literate. There is at any rate scarcely a rite mentioned in the earlier Spanish accounts of the Tagalog, Bikol, and Bisaya whose purpose is definitely different from the purpose of the Nabaloi, Ifugao, Subanun, or Bagobo rites; and many agree exactly in motive with the surviving rites of these more conservative tribes. Ceremonies to promote agriculture, at weddings, at funerals, in connection with warfare, against illness, or to evidence social rank, are reported with remarkable unanimity wherever information begins to approach completeness.

Similar as is the range of ritual throughout the islands, the names of corresponding rites vary enormously, in fact rarely agree even among neighboring tribes. This is perhaps the outstanding fact about Table 7. The religious material operated with is substantially identical among all Filipino tribes; its precise shape, as revealed by the names, is endlessly variable. No crystallization of form has taken place. The condition is similar to that which must have existed among the Greek peoples before literature had effected a partial standardization of religious concept and practice — except of course that Greek cults were always attached to specific localities in native consciousness, whereas Philippine observances never are. Filipino rituals remained in the category of customs. They are not part of a formulated system. They are not at all the expression of “religion” in our sense of the term; are of a different order from Buddhism, Isis-cult, Mithraism, Shintoism, Judaism, Christianity.

The conclusion is therefore unavoidable that it is unlikely that any wave of Hindu or Asiatic propaganda, or even any direct Hindu cults as such, have ever reached the Philippines. Influences emanating from India there have certainly been; and even influences originating in the Mediterranean region can be inferred with considerable probability: bird augury, liver divination, perhaps the sacrifice of domestic animals and wine. But these influences have penetrated as disjected fragments, not as organized wholes; they have seeped in, not been swept into the islands by a powerful wave; were evidently carried to the Malaysians of the Philippines by other Malaysians; and, once introduced in the islands, gradually penetrated every portion of them.

## 7. Classification of Philippine Ceremonies.

### Agricultural Rituals.

*Preparation of rice fields.* Ifugao; Tagalog: *pasing-labi sa nono*; Subanun; Bagobo, rites at smithy for tools used in clearing; also possibly the *ginum*, held at any time before the harvest.

*Rice planting.* Cagayan, three ceremonies before planting; Bontok: *pochang*; Ifugao: *kulpe*; Mandaya; Bilaan; Bagobo: *marummas*; Kulaman.



*Transplanting of irrigated rice.* Bontok: *chaka*, including *suyak*, *walit* and *mangmang*, *mangapui*, *asigkacho*, *patay*; also perhaps *suwat*; for warmth of transplanters, *chinamwi*.

*Promotion of growth of rice.* Bontok: *keeng*, including *totolod*; Nabaloi: *kosdai* and *tawal ni payu*; S. Kankanai: *kosde* and *bugid*; N. Kankanai<sup>1</sup>: *bagaoas*, against mice and drouth; *bakid*, for sufficient water; Subanun (before weeding).

*Before beginning rice harvest.* Bontok: *safosab*; Ifugao: *kolating*; Nabaloi and S. Kankanai: *pungam*; Sambal: *mamiarag*; Subanun; Bilaan: *pandoman*; Bagobo.

*At end of rice harvest.* Apayao: *sayam*; Bontok: *lislis*, including *chapeng* and *fug-fugto*; Ifugao: *tungul*, *tuldag*; Subanun: *posonghu*; Mandaya; Bagobo: *kapungaan*, including *gatokbiaan* or *pakakaro*, *bagkes*, and *gomeng ka taragomi* or *bitinbagaybo*.

*Before new rice is eaten.* Ifugao; Nabaloi: *bakak*; S. Kankanai: *bugak*.

*To slow consumption of rice.* Ifugao: *humangali page*.

*To produce rain for crops.* Bontok: *fakil*; Bisaya: *holom*.

*For crops other than rice.* Bontok, at camote planting: *loskod*; at bean planting: *okiad*; Kulaman, at sago gathering.

#### Rituals Connected with Phases of Life.

*Birth.* (1) *To promote delivery.* Nabaloi: *mantaidin*; Mandaya; Bilaan; Bagobo. (2) *For health of child.* Nabaloi and S. Kankanai: *abasang*; Bagobo.

*Name giving.* None are described.

*Adolescence.* None are described, except possibly Bikol *karinga* (on a child reaching a certain age). Express denial of occurrence is made for Bontok, Bagobo, Mandaya, Bilaan.

*Betrothal.* Tinggian: *pakalon*; Ifugao: *mommon*, *imbango*, *hingot*; Nabaloi and S. Kankanai: *kaising* and *kalon*.

*Marriage.* Tinggian; Bontok; *inpake* and *kapiya*; Ifugao: *bubun*; northern Ifugao: *tanig*; Nabaloi and S. Kankanai: *mangidin*; Bilaan; Bagobo: *taliduma*; Mandaya; Kulaman. Denied for Saltan Kalinga.

*Removal of prohibition against marriage of cousins.* Ifugao: *ponga*; Subanun.

*Reestablishment of a wavering marriage.* Tinggian: *nagkakalanan*.

*Death and burial.* Tinggian, including *sangsanget* song; Bontok: *kapiyan si natü*; Ifugao: *munhimung* (death rite), *dangale* (funeral feast), *binokbok* (three days after burial); Nabaloi: *siling* (in death chair), *okat* (in coffin); S. Kankanai, *siling* and *pugas*; Sambal; Tagalog: *uakas*; Bisaya: *damag*, *laraouan*, *maglahe*; Subanun: *timala* (*pimala*) and *puluntuh* ("causing to rise"); Tirurai: *tii* (seventh day after death); Mandaya; Bilaan; Bagobo: *laloan* (mourning), *damag* (the death watch); Kulaman.

*Conclusion of mourning.* Cagayan, with human sacrifice; Tinggian: *layog*; Ifugao: *liu-liua*; S. Kankanai: *pugas*, to prevent farther deaths; Tagalog: *tibao*; Bagobo.

<sup>1</sup> "N. Kankanai": Lepanto, in J. A. Robertson, *Phil. Journ. Science*, IX, D, 465-527, 1914. "S. Kankanai": Benguet, in C. R. Moss, "Nabaloi Law and Ritual" and "Kankanay Ceremonies and Myths," manuscripts in press in the University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, volume 15. My thanks are due Mr. Moss for his generous permission to draw freely on his valuable data.

## Rituals of War and Head-Hunting.

*Preparation for a raid.* Ifugao: *mungamu-gaman*; Bilaan; Kulaman.

*Celebration over heads taken.* Tinggian: *sayang*; Bontok: *kafokab* (*sedak* and *chaois* also mentioned); Ifugao; Nabaloi: *bindayan*; S. Kankanai; *bindian*; Goban Kalinga; Sambal: *Mang-alagar* is the associated deity.

*For a head lost:* Bontok: *mangayu*.

*Establishment of peace:* Nabaloi: *pachit* (presumed original purpose); Ifugao: *hidit*.

## Rituals to Prove Wealth or Establish Social Standing.

Ifugao: *uyauwe*; *hagabi* (setting up a bench as symbol or rank); perhaps also *bumayah*; Nabaloi: *pachit*, *chawok*, and *bayok* (all three also against sickness); S. Kankanai: *mandit*, *dawak*, and *basit dawak*; N. Kankanai: *bayas* or *bumayas*; Tagalog: *pandot* (a great ceremony).

## Generalized Rituals for Community Welfare.

Ifugao: *hongga*; N. Kankanai; *begnas* or *pakde* (perhaps primarily an agricultural rite); Bikol: *hidhid* (at a public calamity); Bisaya: *lantang* (to celebrate any accomplishment); Subanun: *buklug* (also to fulfill a vow made during sickness).

## Rituals of Divination.

Ifugao: *ubaya*<sup>1</sup> (*agba*, a magic stick); Nabaloi: *sabat* (swinging stone), *bakno* (wine mirror), and *buyon* (balanced stick), to determine the ceremony most efficacious on any occasion; *manoni* (hepatoscopy); S. Kankanai: *anap*; *manman*, (hepatoscopy); N. Kankanai: *ubaya*; Tagalog: *pang-atahoan*, *bilauo*; Bisaya: *kabkab* (by liver); *siyon*; *tali* (with egg or stone); Subanun; Mandaya: *pag-tali* (swinging brand); Tirurai: *alamat*; *fengintuanan* (by lines of palm); Bagobo: *pasilume* (ordeal for theft); palm reading; Magindanao: *pantok*, *tambiling*.

## Rituals Against Disease.

Tinggian: *dawak*, *palaan*, *sangasang*, *ibal*, and probably others (the last two also against misfortune and danger); Apayao; Bontok: *afat*; Ifugao: *pinokla* (to cure wounds); Nabaloi: caused by spirit of a recently deceased person: *tabwak*; of a specific ancestor: *kapi*; of hungry ancestors generally: *batbat*, *saad*; by non-human forest or other class spirits: *ampasit*, *pasang ni mansakit*, *timbangau*, *kiad*, *inamdagan*, by flight of soul: *tawal*, *tingiting*; by witches or hostile ritualists: *palis*, *sagasau*; against specific diseases less definitely associated with spirits or personalities: *buang*, *nansang*, *palis chi kabunian*, *dosad*, *sigop*, *kolos*, *basil*, *sagosab*, *diau chuntog*, *diau kasib*, *gangau*, *tamo*, *pasang*, *padad*, *sibisib*, *salchi*; N. Kankanai: *keslei*, *tobag*, *tongkala* (in fulfillment of a vow), *pasang* (against sterility, *palis* (against witches); S. Kankanai: against sickness caused by the spirit of a dead ancestor or relative: *kiad*, *kapi*, *batbat*, *saad*, *tanong*; by non-human classes of spirits: *dagas*, *bilig*, *laglagiwin*; by departure of soul: *lawit*, *tingiting*; against specific diseases: *manbating*, *bilang*, *mantuis bilig*, *mayodos*, *sibisib*, *mayilutlutan*, *liblibian*, *ampasit*, *tamo*, *dayau*

<sup>1</sup> The *ubaya* is also made by the most northwesterly Bontok (of Villaviciosa) and by the southernmost Tinggian (of Lumaba), but apparently for wealth and welfare. Cole, *Field Museum Natural History, Anthr. Ser. XIV*, 176, 1915.

*buang, saldi; pasang* (against sterility); *palis* (against witches); Tagalog: *bongoy, mag-divang; mang-aga-mot, mang-aga-uay, mang-aga-yoma* (perhaps name distinct ceremonial methods of curing rather than specific ceremonies); Mandaya, *pag-kayan*; Subanun: to ward off epidemics: *buklug* (also for general welfare, etc.); Bagobo.

#### Miscellaneous.

*To allay storms.* Bontok: *kalob*; Tirurai: *kambung*; Bagobo.

*Before hunting, and after killing seven wild boars.* Subanun.

*For change of ato affiliation.* Bontok: *puke* or *palugpeg*.

*For luck on a journey.* S. Kankanaï: *sagausau*.

*To prevent quarrels at great ceremonies.* Ifugao: *tikman*.

*To settle a blood feud.* Sambal: the associated deity is *Mang-lobar*.

*To worry debtors into payment, etc.* Ifugao: sacrifice to *halupe* spirits.

*To kill or bewitch.* Ifugao: *ayak*; Nabaloi: *sagausau* (also to protect against witches); Tagalog: *man-hihikap, kolam*.

*Inter-sex songs of revilement* (a phase in other ceremonies). Nabaloi: *lio-liwa*; Ifugao: *liu-liua* (at end of mourning); Bagobo: *gindaya*, antiphonal chanting between sets of men, sometimes with accusations.<sup>1</sup>

#### RELIGIOUS MECHANISMS.

Similar conclusions result from a comparative review of the mechanism of native religion, at which some attempts are made in Tables 8 to 13.

#### 8. *Altars.*

Tinggian: *saloko*, split bamboo post.

*baneet*, hanging coconut husk.

Bontok: *sakolong*, for heads.

Tagalog: *bagol*, coconut cups.

*dambana, lambana*, altar or "adoratorio".

Bikol: *salagnat*, "table" for offerings in *atang* rite.

Subanun: *bukar*, in mourning.

*ponolud*, at close of *buklug*.

*palanka*, a small jar for wine.

Tirurai: *ranga*, split cane for areca offering.

Bagobo: *tambara*, plate in split bamboo post.

*tigyama, balekat*, hanging plates.

There are two principal types of altars which are apparently in nearly universal use, and are described clearly for both the Tinggian of the extreme north and the Bagobo of the farthest south. The names are as different as usual. When pottery is substituted for the presumably original coconut shell receptacle, it is not native but Chinese ware. This, by the way, is illuminative of the cultural relations of the Philippines in general. There is a conscious attempt by the wildest and remotest tribes to use a foreign

<sup>1</sup> Benedict, *Ann. N. Y. Acad. Sc.*, XXV, 165, 1916.

article. The article is imported in quantities. But it is put to use in a specifically native setting; and it is taken over without any accompaniment or attached associations. The Chinese jars that are or were prized so highly throughout the Philippines and Borneo as family heirlooms, are an even more striking case because of their importance in native estimation. They flowed in for centuries without appearing to affect either the color of native religion or the native pottery industry.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the influences of the Chinese have been those of traders, the less direct but profounder influences of the Hindus those of teachers. But in both cases the influences penetrated as isolated bits, not as compact systems.

### 9. Spirit Houses.

Tinggian: *balaua*; also *kalangan*, *tanggap*, *bawi*, *palaan*.

Tagalog: *ulango*, perhaps also *simbahan*.<sup>2</sup>

Bikol: *moog*, caves for idols.

Subanun: *maligai*.

Tirurai: *tenin(es)*, entered by priests only.

Bagobo: *buis*, near settlements and on roads; *parabunnian*, in rice fields.

The spirit houses are miniature dwellings, often without floor or walls, but always roofed; and the nearest approach to temples found in the Philippines. The Tinggian-Bagobo correspondence again establishes the institution as ancient and generically Filipino. But there seems to be no clear record of spirit houses for Nabaloi, Kankanai, Ifugao, or Bontok, and there is a specific denial for the Apayao.<sup>3</sup> The bulk of the Igorot group therefore stands apart in this custom.

### 10. Omen Birds.

Tinggian: *labeg*.

Bontok: *ichu*.

Ifugao: *idu*, the spirit, *pitpit*, the bird.

Nabaloi: *tutrut*.

"Igorot" and Ginaan Kalinga: *suiit*.

Ilokano: *salaksak*.

Sambal: *salaksak*, *pasi-manuken*.

Tagalog: *balan tikis* or *balatiti*; also *Bathala*, the name of the supreme deity, applied to the *tigma-manukin* bird (*Irena cyanogastra*).

Pampanga: *batala*.

Bikol: *haya*; *sayasaya*.

<sup>1</sup> Cole, F. C. and Laufer, B., "Chinese Pottery in the Philippines" *Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthr. Ser.* XII, 1-47, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> Name of the head man's large house when used for ceremonials, and the modern word for a church. The term may also have been applied to spirit houses, since Blumentritt defines it as "casitas" for worship.

<sup>3</sup> Cole, *Am. Anthropol.*, N. S., XI, 342, 1909.



Bisaya:	<i>limokon.</i>
Subanun:	<i>tibogok; ghinagau.</i>
Tirurai:	<i>lemuguen.</i>
Mandaya:	<i>limokon.</i>
Bagobo:	<i>limokon</i> ( <i>Phabotreron brevirostris</i> or <i>Calcophaps indica</i> ).

### 11. *Priests or Mediums.*

Tinggian:	<i>alopogan.</i>
Bontok:	<i>insupak.</i>
Ifugao:	<i>mon-lapu</i> (Kiangnan district). <i>tumunoh</i> (Central district).
Nabaloi:	<i>mam-bunong</i> ( <i>bunong</i> , prayer).
Ilokano:	<i>baglan</i> (generic). <i>mang-oodon, mang-ododon</i> , priests. <i>mannilao, mammables</i> , diviners.
Sambal:	<i>bayok, bayog</i> , <sup>1</sup> transvestite head priest.
Tagalog:	<i>katalonan, katolon</i> (generic). <i>sonat</i> , pontifex maximus. <i>tauak</i> , medicinemen with snake guardians. <i>bayoguin</i> , <sup>1</sup> transvestite priests.
Bikol:	<i>balyan</i> (generic). <i>sakom</i> , medicinewomen. <i>asog</i> , transvestite priests.
Bisaya:	<i>ba-bailan</i> (generic). <i>asog</i> , a class of priests, (cf. Bikol). <i>katoolan</i> , seers or prophets (cf. Tagalog). <i>sigbinan</i> , wizards of were-wolf type.
Subanun:	<i>balian.</i> <i>tanguilin.</i> <i>labia</i> , transvestites (not necessarily priests).
Tirurai:	<i>belian.</i>
Mandaya:	<i>bailan.</i>
Bagobo:	<i>bailan.</i> <i>matanom.</i>

The fundamental term, at least the most widely spread, is *bailan* or *balian*, which is lost among the Tagalog but reappears with the Ilokano, and is known elsewhere in the East Indies. The Tagalog name *katolon* is not indicative of an isolated development or influence, since it reappears among the Bisaya as the name of a special class of priests. A similar tendency to elaborate and specialize the office is evidently the cause of the diversity of nomenclature in the central region generally and perhaps in Mindanao: head priests, transvestite priests, snake priests, curing priests, foretelling priests were separately recognized.

In the Igorot region, such classifications are wanting. No two tribes

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<sup>1</sup> The word *bayog* reappears among the Southern Kankanaï as the name of a song in the *mandit* ceremony.

agree in nomenclature. Evidently, descriptive terms were freely coined. The inclination of the Igorot toward local specialization of detail and nomenclature by the side of nearly complete participation in the content of the institutions of the other Filipinos, is once more manifest. It would therefore be unreasonable to conclude from their want of the name *bailan* that the Igorot have undergone a separate religious development. It is indeed possible that a particular wave of cultural influence which carried the word *bailan* failed to reach them; but it is at least equally likely that the term came to them and failed to be accepted or was subsequently discarded by reason of their local separatist tendencies.

The institution itself seems to be about the same throughout the Philippines in its combination of the functions of priest, medium, and shaman, and its indifference to sex of incumbents.

#### 12. *Intoxicants used in Ceremonies.*

	Fermented Rice	Fermented Cane Sugar
Nabaloi	<i>tapui</i>	
Bontok	<i>tafei</i>	( <i>basi</i> )
Ifugao	<i>bubud</i>	<i>bayah</i>
Pangasinan		<i>kila</i>
Bisaya	<i>pang-asi</i>	<i>kilang</i>
Subanun	<i>g-asi</i>	
Bagobo		<i>balabba</i>

#### 13. *Condition of Taboo after a Death.*

Nabaloi:	<i>pidju, pidiu</i>
Bontok:	( <i>fosog, tengao</i> , rest days)
Ifugao:	<i>paniu</i>
Tagalog:	<i>sipa</i>
Subanun:	<i>liing, liing-an</i>

#### 14. *Souls and Ancestral Spirits.*

	Soul	Spirit of an Ancestor
Goban Kalinga		<i>kadikak</i> <sup>1</sup>
Bontok	<i>tako</i> <sup>2</sup>	("anito")
Ifugao	<i>linauwa</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>a-amud</i> <sup>4</sup> (pl.)
"Igorot"		<i>ani-ani</i>
S. Kankanai		<i>amud</i> , <sup>4</sup> <i>kakading</i> <sup>1</sup>
Nabaloi	<i>adia</i>	<i>amud</i> , <sup>4</sup> <i>kalaching</i> <sup>1</sup>
Ilokano	<i>karkarma</i> , <i>kararua</i>	
Tagalog		<i>nono</i> ("grandfather")
Bikol		<i>tagno</i> <sup>2</sup> (idols)
Bisaya		<i>umalagad</i>
Subanun	<i>g-inawa</i> <sup>3</sup> ("breath")	<i>g-imud</i> <sup>4</sup>
Tirurai	<i>k-amatu</i> <sup>4</sup>	
Bagobo	<i>g-imokud</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>kayung</i>

There are several terms for soul or spirit that have some distribution. These have been connected in list 14 by having the same numbers placed after them. It is not always possible to decide from the data whether a word for “soul” refers to that of the living or the dead. To an orthodox Christian, the difference is supposed to be trivial. To most primitive people, and certainly to the Filipinos, the difference is enormous. One’s own soul is likely to have experiences extremely dangerous to one’s life; the soul of a dead relative can cause or avert sickness or danger or prosperity. Nevertheless, if the information and attempted etymologizing can be relied on, two terms, *tako-tagno* and *amud-gimokud*, have shifted locally from the meaning of “soul” to that of “spirit” or reversely.

The Igorot tribes do not show their usual diversity in these terms. Not only do they display at least as much uniformity among themselves as the civilized groups, but they seem definitely connected with the pagans of Mindanao, who in most instances so far considered affiliate with the Moro and Bisaya. It rather seems that northern Luzon and Mindanao represent an original generic diffusion of terms for soul and spirit; from which the intermediate groups departed with advancing civilization.

# TERMS OF ASIATIC ORIGIN.

Returning once more to Blumentritt’s data, we may consider the religious terms derived by the Filipinos from Asia or shared with other Malaysians.

## 15. *Non-Malaysian Terms Common to Several Philippine Tribes.*

	Igorot	Il.- Pang.	S. Pamp.	Tag.	Bik.	Bis.	Minda- nao	Pala- wan
<i>Sanskrit</i>								
Bathala (Bhaṭṭara)	—	—	×	×	×	×	×	—
diwata (devata)	—	—	—	—	—	×	×	×
mantala (mantra)	—	—	—	×	—	×	—	—
naga (naga)	—	—	×	×	—	—	×	—
rahu, lahu (rahu)	—	—	—	×	—	—	×	—
	—	—	2	4	1	3	4	1
<i>Mohammedan</i>								
sitan (Satan)	—	—	—	×	—	×	×	—

It is clear that Hindu influence direct enough to cause the introduction of Hindu nomenclature has not penetrated northern Luzon, but that over the remainder of the islands it has been approximately uniform in strength. The lower figures for Pampanga, Bikol, and Palawan seem to reflect *only* the general insufficiency of information for these groups.

On the whole, the number of religious terms of Hindu origin is small as compared with the fairly considerable number of other words of Sanskrit origin that have been determined in Tagalog and Bisaya by Kern.<sup>1</sup> The impression which the foregoing little table yields is that the Hindu element has entered Philippine religion by several routes, or that, if it came through a single channel, it filtered in so long ago, and in association with so many other cultural elements, as to become generally disseminated by the time of discovery, except in northern Luzon. Kern concludes from the preponderance of Sanskrit words in Tagalog over Bisaya, and the still smaller proportion in Celebes, that the Hindu influence came directly from the Malay Peninsula or Indo-China to central Luzon, and presumably that it then worked southward to Mindanao and Celebes, or that Celebes received its Hindu vocabulary along a separate southern route. The religious data here compiled are too few to support or controvert this opinion very seriously; but they do suggest that the Tagalog were not the gate through which Hinduism chiefly flowed into the Philippines, else the rude inlanders of distant Mindanao would scarcely be sharing most of the Tagalog import of Sanskrit religious terminology while the nearer Igorot did without. It is true that the interior of Mindanao is in a sense more open toward the sea than is the mountain mass of northern Luzon; but such difference as there may be in this respect is insufficient to reverse completely the presumable effects of much greater proximity. It is therefore possible that certain influences going back to an ultimate Hindu source reached the Tagalog directly across the China Sea from the northwestern Malaysian nations, as Kern concludes; that another set of influences entered Mindanao from the southern Malaysians by way of Borneo; and that these two streams not only commingled among the Bisayans, but largely interpenetrated each other in Luzon and Mindanao, the Igorot alone remaining unpermeated as in so many other respects.

The alternative to this conclusion would be that Hindu elements had indeed penetrated the Philippines at one point only, but so long ago that these elements had had time to be carried to all the more advanced nations of the archipelago as well as the more exposed of the ruder ones, such as the inland dwellers of Mindanao and Palawan. Exacter studies may be needed to decide the issue between these two possibilities. What is certain is that the Philippines may be divided in this matter into an Igorot and a non-Igorot portion; that the Igorot have been almost wholly unaffected by recognizably Sanskrit elements; that the many non-Igorot groups have

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<sup>1</sup> *Bijsdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, ser. 4, IV, 535-564, 1880, V, 128-135, 1881. He gives 174 terms in Tagalog and 95 in Bisayan, 35 of these being common to the two languages.

been affected about equally; and that the source of this Sanskrit element is sufficiently complex or ancient to defy its determination by any off-hand inspection.

It may be added that a strong desideratum is a much greater caution in judging the Sanskrit contributions to the Philippine languages than a number of authors have displayed. When a well known and widely spread Malayo-Polynesian stem such as *anito* is attributed to Sanskrit; and on the other hand perfectly plain Sanskrit words like *deva*, *devata*, are given Malay-sian etymologies, almost anything can be proved. The same is true of other fields than religion; as in the matter of *pana*, the Malayo-Polynesian word for bow, appearing in the Philippines both for bow and for arrow, against whose derivation from Sanskrit *vâna*, arrow, Codrington has advanced a most cogent argument.<sup>1</sup>

#### SUMMARY.

The inferences deducible from the foregoing tables can be summarized as follows.

1. The Igorot <sup>2</sup> stand apart from the other Filipinos in religious nomenclature: tables 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. The only exception of consequence is in 14.
2. The nomenclature of the several Igorot tribes is highly diversified: 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12. Exceptional uniformity: 3, 4, 5.
3. The non-Igorot tribes and nations show no notable grouping or classification in their nomenclature other than on a basis of local geography: 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14.
4. The fundamental concepts and execution of religion are closely similar among all the Filipinos, Igorot and non-Igorot: 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.
5. Hindu influences have entered the Philippines probably by several channels, or if not, have subsequently been rather uniformly diffused among all tribes except the Igorot. Their history is probably both old and intricate: 7, 15.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Melanesian Languages*, (Oxford, 1885), 61.

<sup>2</sup> All non-Negrito pagans of northern Luzon.



## PART II. COMPARATIVE CONSIDERATIONS.

The question remains how these findings from religious phenomena and nomenclature stand with reference to the broader findings of inquiries into Philippine race, speech, and civilization generally.

## RACE.

As regards race, the first Spaniards concluded that the Negritos represented the earliest stratum of population in the Philippines; and this opinion seems never to have been challenged. There is certainly no known piece of evidence that would support the contrary view.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century it began to be held that two strata of the brown or Malayan race could be distinguished in the Philippines and East Indies generally, the later standing in the same relation of invasion, conquest, and cultural dominance toward the earlier, as the earlier had exercised toward the Negrito. The earlier swarm was spoken of as Indonesian, Proto-Malayan, Primitive Malay; and was variously connected with Polynesian, Caucasian, and other racial stocks.

Unfortunately, this Indonesian theory not only originated as a theory but remained speculative for many years. The sources and connections of the Indonesian and Malayan types were sought before the two types had been established, and evidence was adduced to support opinion without being reviewed completely or coherently. The hypothesis therefore met with some deserved opposition, in spite of its plausibility.

So far as the Philippines are concerned, the question has been settled affirmatively by the recent monograph of Mr. L. R. Sullivan.<sup>1</sup> Using all the available evidence instead of selecting from it the parts favorable to a preconceived opinion, and confining himself to data uncolorable by subjective impressions — that is, measurements — he has shown that the Philippines contain native groups belonging to at least three racial types: the Negrito and two brown skinned, straight haired stocks. Of these two brown stocks, the one prevailing among the interior and less advanced peoples is shorter, longer headed, and broader nosed than the type dominant on the coasts and lowlands among the more advanced peoples. The interior type cannot possibly be the result of Negrito and Malayan mixture, as its

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<sup>1</sup> "Racial Types in the Philippine Islands" (*Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, XXIII, part 1, 1918).

short stature and broad nose might suggest, because it is longer headed than either of these two stocks; not to mention that its hair shows no trace of the Negrito woolliness, as is readily observable from photographs.

The only other explanation that might be advanced against the distinct origins and arrivals of these two non-Negrito types in the Philippines, is the supposition that one type became modified from the other on the spot, as a result of the difference of physical environment on the coast and in the interior, or of difference of mode of life following from the prolonged exposure of the coast dwellers to Hindu-Malaysian, Mohammedan, and Christian influences. Such a counter explanation would admittedly rest on assumption. Moreover the fact that the same two types recur side by side elsewhere in the East Indies, as in Borneo and Java, militates very strongly against any belief in the effect of environment in the Philippines.

It must therefore be accepted as established that the brown peoples of the Philippines and of at least certain other parts of Malaysia are of two types; that these types, while apparently rather closely related, are demonstrably distinct; and that their diffusion probably occurred in successive periods.

Now the region in which the earlier or Indonesian or primitive Malayan or less Mongoloid type occurs in greatest purity among tribe after tribe, is the mountainous district of the interior of northern Luzon. This is precisely the habitat of the pagan "Igorot" tribes which the foregoing discussion has shown to be the most unique of all Philippine peoples in their religious nomenclature. In Mindanao, where the pagan tribes participate much more closely in the elements and designations of religion characteristic of the groups that are now Christianized or Mohammedanized, the line of racial demarcation, while still partly traceable, has been considerably more effaced. In the central islands, no doubt because of their smaller size, pagan culture has been preserved only among a few small and isolated groups, of whose religion we know little and of their physical type equally little or less.

This correspondence of the comparatively distinct "Igorot" racial type and comparatively distinct "Igorot" religion is certainly an important fact. The readiest inference is that the Igorot owes his religious aloofness at least partly to the circumstance of being settled with established institutions before the later brown immigrants reached the Philippines; and that these, coming as a separate people, brought with them a distinct culture, or remained open to Hindu or Hinduized influences which failed to find an equally favorable soil among the Igorot. In Mindanao, for some reason, partial assimilation of the two races and nearly complete assimilation of their cultures has taken place.

## SPEECH.

It would be gratifying if the languages of the Philippines also fell into a Primitive Malayan and Later Malayan group, or an Igorot and non-Igorot division. Unfortunately they do not. There is only one mother tongue known in the Philippines; and in this, vague statements and dogmatic assertions to the contrary, all peoples of the archipelago, including even the Negritos, participate. Furthermore, this stock language does not fall into well marked major varieties corresponding to racial or cultural groups. The Negrito speaks a dialect of Apayao or Ibanag or Sambal or Pampanga, that is, a form of the language which is current in the vicinity of his local habitat. There is no Negrito type or class of dialects. Nor has any Igorot class of dialects ever been asserted by any linguistically trained scholar. In fact, Igorot and non-Igorot dialects agree in particular traits as opposed to other Igorot and non-Igorot dialects.

Thus Conant,<sup>1</sup> investigating the *pepet* vowel, obtains results that may be classified as follows: —

	"Igorot" languages	"Non-Igorot" languages of Luzon and central islands	"Non-Igorot" languages of Mindanao
Pepet becomes I	Bontok (probably) Ifugao (possibly)	Tagalog	
Pepet becomes E	Nabaloi Kankanai	Ilokano Pangasinan Kalamian	Tirurai Magindanao
Pepet becomes A	Gaddang	Ibanag (Cagayan) Pampanga	Ata (probably) Bilaan (probably)
Pepet becomes U	Tinggian [Isinai]	Bisaya Bikol	Sulu Bagobo Tagbanua

He concludes: "Languages of the same class [of *pepet* vowel] are often widely separated geographically, and conversely, several classes may have representatives within a comparatively small area. In fact, the different classes are so universally commingled geographically, that no given territory can be said to favor any one of the different vowels evolved from original *pepet*."<sup>2</sup>

Much the same results were obtained by the same author as regards the occurrence of the sound F, which is present in the Igorot dialects Gaddang, Bontok, Nabaloi, and the non-Igorot Ibanag, Tirurai, Bilaan, and Taga-

<sup>1</sup> C. E. Conant, "The Pepet Law in Philippine Languages," *Anthropos*, VII, 920-947, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> The same, 943.



kaolo; and of roots reduced to monosyllables, which appear in such far-separated forms of speech as Ibanag, Pampanga, and Sulu. In short, any tendencies to specialization are wont to crop out repeatedly but sporadically in the Philippine languages, and not to attach themselves to solid blocks of tribes. Accordingly, very little corroboration of any views of racial or cultural diffusion seems legitimately obtainable in our present knowledge of Philippine speech.

#### SPEECH CLASSIFICATION.

However, some grouping of languages must exist and must in time be discerned. So far as the problem now under discussion is concerned, such grouping would have to be connected with a genetic classification of East Indian speech as a whole, in order to attain to either considerable validity or considerable significance. To date, no such broader classification appears to have been attempted. Indonesian<sup>1</sup> philologists have been interested in sound shifts, stem modifications, use and nature of stems, and similar processes of purely linguistic interest. The history of the great Malaysian language unit as such they have rather unanimously refused to consider. If the ethnologist asks whether Malagasy shows any greater affinities to some Sumatran dialect group than to the other East Indian languages, or whether Formosan is specially related to the near-by tongues of the northern Philippines, no clear cut answer is forthcoming to these questions of obvious historical importance. Ethnologists and historians, on the other hand, have either avoided philological evidence even when it obviously might bear decisively on their problems, or have handled it in a random and uncritical manner. The consequence is that there is almost no body of knowledge on East Indian speech that is available for cognate studies. But there can never be a complete understanding of the history of civilization in the East Indies, nor a wholly adequate certainty as to their racial history, except through utilization of the history of speech in the region.

If on the basis of the more readily obtainable materials and impartial pronouncements we essay to fill tentatively this lacuna, so far as the Philippines are concerned, by classifying their idioms with consideration of all possible features rather than with reference to one or two alone, the following approximate grouping eventuates.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The term Indonesian is used in philology to mean generic Malaysian or East Indian; not as in physical anthropology, primitive Malayan as contrasted with later Malayan. This unfortunate conflict of usage illustrates the lack of correlation still obtaining among the branches of the human history of the East Indies.

<sup>2</sup> This classification rests on that indicated, although without presentation of evidence, by H. O. Beyer in his *Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916* (Manila, 1917); on a collation of studies such as those of Conant cited above; and on some comparisons of word lists by myself.

The languages of northern Luzon belong to two groups. The first probably comprises Ibanag (Cagayan); Apayao, Kalinga, Gaddang, and Ilongot — which are what have here been called "Igorot"; and the adjacent Negrito dialects. The second group includes Ilokano; Pangasinan; the remainder of the Igorot languages; and probably some Negrito idioms.

To the south of these divisions begins the great central group. This includes Tagalog; Bikol; Bisaya; and at least some — possibly all — of the languages of the Negrito and brown-skinned hill tribes in the region of these three great tongues. The majority of inhabitants of the Philippines speak languages belonging to this group.

Mindanao seems to show no great internal diversification. It is as yet uncertain whether it forms a natural linguistic unit as it does a geographical one or is to be regarded as but a southerly subdivision of the "central" group.<sup>1</sup>

At the northern limit of the central group, between it and the Ilokano group, is Pampanga. This is said to affiliate with Tagalog and the central group, but presents certain obvious specializations that may necessitate its placing in a separate class.<sup>2</sup>

The principal languages that remain in doubt are Sambal, adjacent to Pampanga and Ilokano-Pangasinan, and the native idioms of Mindoro and Palawan.

Now if this hesitating classification be used for what it may be worth, it is clear that it does not reflect any line of division between Indonesian and Malayan types or Igorot and non-Igorot groups. The boundary between the Ilokano and the Cagayan language groups runs through the middle of the Igorot territory; and Mindanao appears to be a substantial unit, as in its pre-Mohammedan culture, but in conflict with its two racial types.

The one outstanding character of the classification is that one or possibly two types of languages prevail over the great bulk of the archipelago and among the vast majority of its inhabitants; and that in the north of

<sup>1</sup> Finley and Churchill, in "The Subanu" (*Carnegie Institution*, Publication no. 184, Washington, 1913) call the Subanun a "sub-Visayan" people, and devote a chapter to "Subanu-Visayan Filiation." But their comparisons are not really comparative in method. The emphasized relation between Bisaya and this one Mindanao dialect is not matched against any systematically determined greater or less affiliation of the other languages of Mindanao with Bisaya. The implied classification is therefore dogmatic. Subanun may stand much nearer certain other tongues of Mindanao than to Bisaya; and such a Mindanao group may be either "sub-Visayan" or coördinate with Bisaya, for all that any one has yet demonstrated.

<sup>2</sup> The distribution of the forms taken by the R-G-H consonant rather supports this classification. Cagayan, G; Ilokano group (Pangasinan, Nabaloi, Kankanai, Ifugao, Bontok, Tinggian), L (except Ilokano proper, R); Pampanga, Y; Central group (Tagalog, Bikol, Bisaya) and Mindanao (Sulu, Magindanao, Bagobo), G (except Tirurai, R). Conant, *op. cit.*, 920, and *Journ. Am. Oriental Soc.*, XXXI, 70-85.

Luzon alone there are two, three, or perhaps four types sufficiently distinctive to be coördinated with the one or two that extend over the remainder of the islands. Something making for unusual diversification of speech has been at work in northern Luzon; everywhere else, something tending to comparative uniformity with only minor local variability.

Topography may be this something, or at least partly so. The Cagayan group covers nearly all the Cagayan drainage; the Ilokano group the remainder of extreme northern Luzon; Pampanga the heart of the Pampanga river system; and Sambal a sort of peninsula, west of the mass of Luzon, and barred from it by a range of mountains. Yet Mindanao contains two or three quite distinct topographical areas, and the central islands offer opportunities for isolation, which have not led to an equal degree of speech diversification.

While, then, Igorot and non-Igorot speech cannot be properly contrasted, the separateness and internal variety of northern Luzon in the matter of language do somewhat parallel its separateness and internal variety in religious nomenclature. The few data that there are on Ilokano religion leave it doubtful but entirely possible that it is to be grouped with Igorot religion; and as to the Cagayan nation proper, there is no information. It is therefore not unlikely that the combined area of the Ilokano and Cagayan speech groups will prove to be almost the same as the area of religious specialization characterized as "Igorot" in the foregoing pages.

In short, then, the evidence of language does not correlate well with that of racial type, but does partly correlate with the findings made in the field of religion in the present paper.

#### CULTURE.

The culture of the East Indies, and with them of the Philippines, is obviously an extremely complicated composite. Attempts to unravel or reconstruct it have so far been generally unsatisfactory because they assumed that specific culture traits could be connected positively and definitely with particular races, chronological strata, or migrations. The consequence has been a simplification of interpretations far beyond what the intricacy of the actual situation warrants. The bow is described as the typical Negrito weapon, the blowgun as distinctively Malayan; yet there are Negritos that use the blowgun, and brown peoples that shoot arrows, within the Philippines. Evidently the hypothesis rests on a subjective basis, and if it happens ultimately to prove true, it will be so as a happy guess. Before any scientifically justified opinion as to the history of the bow and blowgun in the East Indies is arrived at, the whole of the available evidence will have to be assembled and critically analyzed and judged.



Iron culture in the Philippines also furnishes an illustration of a situation that does not lend itself to off-hand interpretation. With the exception of the Negritos, or some of them, practically every people in the Philippine works and uses iron. At the same time, there is no people that mines or smelts iron.<sup>1</sup> The raw material has always been imported. Obviously therefore the art is also an imported one. But having now spread over the whole of the islands, it cannot be readily connected with either the Indonesian or post-Indonesian race, with either an early or late stratum of Indian influence. Before any real knowledge can be attained, the distribution of significant details of the process of iron working must be ascertained; their association with other features of culture; and the distribution of the art and its varieties through the East Indies generally.

Moreover, since there is no iron in the Philippines, or none that is mined, the entire art of working it is in a sense parasitic. The pagan mountaineer evidently depended for his scanty supply of raw material on the Ilokano or Tagalog, and learned his technique from him, just as the Ilokano and Tagalog depended on Borneo or Malacca or perhaps China. The dependence may be very ancient or rather recent. As the situation stands, it is as hopeless to infer its history directly from its immediate aspects as it would be to work out the history of coffee merely from the fact that both North Americans and Europeans today drink coffee grown in Brazil.

So with brass working. The finest brass is manufactured by the Mohammedans of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago. The next best is produced by certain pagan tribes of Mindanao, such as the Bagobo, who live not far from the coast and maintain contact with Mohammedans. In the remainder of the Philippines brass work is much poorer or wanting. The plausible conclusion is that this art is a Mohammedan one and has been introduced in the last five centuries. But the Bontok and other "Igorot" tribes in the far north also cast brass. Minute pipes, finger rings, and other crude trinkets replace the inlaid betel boxes, anklets, bells, and bowls of Mindanao, but the process is the same — that of the *cire perdue*. Mohammedan influence can hardly have permeated such large groups as the intervening Bisaya and Tagalog, especially during the Spanish period, without leaving a record or traces among these peoples. But we hear nothing of such traces, nor do we know definitely of any causes that would have obliterated them. But if then the remote and uncultivated Igorot have had the art from a non-Mohammedan and pre-Spanish source, it would almost necessarily have existed elsewhere in the archipelago; and in that

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<sup>1</sup> This is true at least for the period of European discovery. It is at least substantially true today, any deviations being due to Spanish influence.

case its present development in Mindanao may be a local accident unconnected or only indirectly connected with the existence of Mohammedanism there.

So with rice culture. The district in which terrace irrigation is chiefly carried on, the only one certainly in which it attains impressive proportions, is that of the Igorot Nabaloi, Kankanai, Bontok, Tinggian, with a culmination among the Ifugao. Shall we therefore attribute terrace irrigation to the Proto-Malayan race, and derive this race from Japan or China because there also terraces are constructed? But however we may try to trace this race, there remains the fact that Java, which is certainly in the main populated by later Malaysians, is everywhere terraced.

Again, which is the distinctive trait — the terracing or the irrigating? If the latter, then Tagalog and Pampanga and other civilized, that is Christian, Filipino nationalities must be included that have so far been excluded from consideration. In that case, terracing is a mere incident, with which the lowlander in his swamps and flood plains could dispense, whereas the Bontok and Ifugao in the mountains must convert simple dikes into elaborate terraces so soon as his adoption of rice farming had led to an increase of population over the number that could be nourished from his narrow valleys.

Farther, we do not positively know whether the growing of swamp or irrigated rice and of upland rice that flourishes on hillsides represent fundamentally different forms of agriculture, which were invented separately and came to the Philippines by distinct importations or migrations; or whether they are only sub-varieties of a single art, which frequently co-exist and only tend to supplant each other according to dictates of climate or the requirements of population. Some divisions of the Kalinga irrigate in terraces, others confine themselves to growing upland rice. Does this mean that two waves of culture influence have penetrated to them, or that they choose according to circumstance and local habit between two phases of an industry that came to them as a unit?

It may be added that in less than four centuries maize has become as established an agricultural staple as rice, and only slightly less important, for many of the peoples of the Philippines.

Obviously, direct interpretation in the face of such situations is pure speculation. There is no Philippine rice culture problem. There is only the problem of the history of rice in the East Indies and Asia.

The same sort of intricate and centrifugally perspective conditions meet us when we consider house types, hats, clothing, shields, fire-making apparatus. In short, the elements of Filipino civilization mean almost nothing when their distribution is observed for the Philippines alone. The culture

*per se* cannot be resolved into two or three or four distinct layers. Elements of remote and very ancient origin are associated among the same people, whether these be advanced or lowly, with elements that are rather newly invented or introduced.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURE ELEMENTS.

What is feasible, however, is a review of internal local relations which may correlate with our findings as to religion and language, even if they do not explain the cultural significance of race movements or relate very closely to the main waves of culture influences.

Now, while the ethnology of the Philippines has never been systematized, its outstanding phases are undoubtedly the fundamental unity of culture of all the peoples of the islands — Negrito, Proto-Malayan, and Malayan — coupled with an endless variety of irregularly localized detail. The one fact of organization on a geographical basis that seems in any way to emerge conspicuously is the comparative separateness of northern Luzon. Secondary as this is to both the unity and the superficial diversity, it does seem to be the internal distributional datum of first moment. It can be substantiated by the following considerations.

1. Tooth filing and blackening are or were practised in all parts of the Philippines except the Igorot area.
2. Tattooing was most developed in northern Luzon and among the Bisaya. The Tagalog and tribes of Mindanao were comparatively exempt from the practice.
3. The kerchief or head scarf indicative of rank or bravery was Tagalog, Bisaya, and southern. It has not been reported from Igorot, Cagayan, Ilokano, or Sambal.
4. The history of hats in the Philippines is obscure and promises to be complicated. The peaked Moro hat has close analogues in Celebes. Otherwise two principal types can be distinguished: a minute hat — receptacle or ornament rather than head covering — worn only by some of the Igorot; and hats larger than the head, which are distributed over the remainder of the islands.
5. Jacket and trousers had apparently begun to be introduced on the coasts of northern Luzon at the time of discovery, and since then have spread some distance inland, as to the Kalinga and Tinggian and Ilongot; but the core of the Igorot tribes, as represented by the Bontok and Ifugao, still use only the breech-clout for men and the simple sarong skirt for women, in spite of residence in a comparatively chilly climate.
6. The blow pipe seems not to have been reported from northern Luzon. It occurred in Palawán, Mindanao, and the central regions, although perhaps with an irregular distribution.
7. The head ax replaces the sword or bolo among the northern Igorot — Tinggian, Kalinga, Bontok. It is not found elsewhere in the islands. The Ifugao and Nabaloi in this case go with the remainder of the archipelago.
8. Armor of metal, horn, wood, rattan, or textiles is at present distinctively



southern, but seems to have been known to the Bisaya and Tagalog. It appears never to have been reported from any Igorot or adjacent tribe.

9. A ridged or transversely convex shield, with or without prongs or indentations at the top or bottom, but never along the sides, is typical of the Igorot area. In Mindanao the convexity is longitudinal, the indentations or scallops are along the sides, and the central boss is a round knob. The Ilongot and the Zambales Negritos at the southern edge of the Igorot area use shields which have the Igorot prong or prongs but the longitudinal convexity and sometimes the circular boss of the south. The shields formerly used by the nations now Christian have not been preserved nor accurately described, but the occurrence of southern traits in the shields of the two rude tribes north of the Tagalog indicates that this people (and therefore presumably the Bisaya also) used shields of southern form. This would mean that the two types had approximately an Igorot and non-Igorot distribution.

10. Head hunting as a systematized practice and human sacrifice are evidently functionally connected and almost mutually exclusive in the Philippines. Head hunting, other than as a sporadic or rudimentary thing, has not been clearly reported south of the Ilongot, the most southerly pagan tribe of the Igorot region in the east; or beyond the Sambal and Pangasinan in the west. The Cagayan kept human bones as trophies, which is certainly close to head hunting, and sacrificed slaves as well. The Sambal, Tagalog, Bisaya, and pagans of Mindanao sacrificed slaves.

11. True irrigation terraces seem to be confined to the Igorot area.

12. The pile raised house and the tree house are or were found in all parts of the islands, broadly speaking, but a house set on or in the ground is found only among three Igorot tribes, the Nabaloi, Kankanai, and Bontok. The shack or lean-to of the Negrito is too rude to enter into the comparison.

13. The *barangay* system which prevailed from the Tagalog to Mindanao represents a plan of society that has partly passed from organization on a kin basis to one on a local basis, and in which the leader is still head of a family but also a chieftain. Among the Tinggian, Bontok, Ifugao, and probably other Igorot, there are no true *barangay*. The social group remains a true kin group. Matters affecting the local community are in the hands of a council of family heads, or wise or rich men, not of a recognized chief.

14. Slavery obtains among the Igorot, but in theory rather than fact. Very few slaves are held, and the institution has no economic importance. Everywhere else it enters very definitely into the constitution of native society; even among the pagans of Mindanao.

15. Native systems of writing prevailed from the Bisaya, perhaps from Mindanao, to the Tagalog, Pampanga, and Ilokano. None of the Igorot had anything of the kind. This is a highly significant fact because the Mangyan of Mindoro and the Tagbanua of Palawan have preserved syllabaries akin to the Tagalog ones. These tribes are much less numerous and settled than most of the Igorot, and obviously possess a culture that on the whole is much less elaborate. The inference is that but for the Negrito and a few scattered bush tribes, every people in the Philippines except those of the Igorot group once knew how to write.

It appears then that a line of some cultural significance can be drawn between northern Luzon and the remainder of the Philippines, or at least between the Igorot and non-Igorot nations, on the basis of general civilization much as in religious nomenclature and in speech. The northern moun-

taineers have to a certain extent gone their own way, and have remained exempt from numerous influences which have pervaded all the remainder of the archipelago. The striking differences which the last few centuries have established between the Christian and Mohammedan and pagan peoples of the Philippines have rather obscured this old cleavage. Superficially, as the voyager or administrator sees them, the pagan Igorot affiliate with the pagans of southern Luzon, Mindoro, Palawan, and Mindanao, and contrast with the Christian and Mohammedan populations. Below these modern resemblances, however, analysis of culture reveals that the pagan Bagobo and Subanun and Tagbanua, however backward, belong rather with the Mohammedan Sulu and the Christian Bisaya and Tagalog and Pampanga; and that the one marked off group consists of the Igorot and probably the Cagayan, with the near-by Ilokano, Pangasinan, and Sambal participating more doubtfully or incompletely.

The depth of this cleavage must not be exaggerated. The most fundamental things in native civilization extend undisturbed below it. Such are: metal working, pottery, the loom, rice culture, house structure, outrigger boats; the constitution of society on a non-political basis of blood kinship with non-differentiation of the sexes except as physiology enforces; the acute development of economic institutions; sacrifice, formula, augury, non-localization of cults, priest-mediums, absence of symbolism, and many other phases of religion.

Many of these common culture elements seem to be primitive East Indian property, even Polynesian in large part. Some at least, such as metals and rice, sacrifice and augury, appear to have been derived from Asia. Igorot culture is therefore not a clear representative of pure Proto-Malayan culture.

But Igorot civilization does, on the whole, unquestionably come nearer to Proto-Malayan culture than does the civilization of any other people in the Philippines; even nearer than that of the isolated remnants of central and southern hill tribes, who are only part primitive, and part decadent, part parasitically advanced. And above all, the specific Hindu element that is so marked in Philippine civilization generally, is very weakly represented in northern Luzon.

#### CONCLUSIONS.

This would make it look as if Indian influences had entered the Philippines from the south, by way of Mindanao, and had then worked northward by way of the Bisayan islands and southern Luzon, but had been prevented by its remoteness from penetrating more than fractionally into northern



Luzon. Yet opposed to this inference is the general advancement of the Tagalog of central Luzon, which in the sixteenth century was certainly not less than that of the Bisaya and evidently greater than that of any of the peoples of Mindanao except so far as the latter had drawn cultural benefits from Mohammedanism in the century or two immediately preceding the arrival of the Spaniards. Specific evidence of the same moment is the size of the determined Sanskrit element in the Tagalog language, as already discussed. It seems therefore that Indian influences may have entered the Philippines much as Mohammedanism subsequently entered them. As the Spaniards found Islam in the Sulu archipelago, on the coasts of southern and western Mindanao, on Palawan, on Mindoro, and about Manila Bay in Luzon — in other words at a series of isolated points,— so the Hinduized Malaysians who carried portions of the earlier civilization to the Philippines may have established themselves independently in separate parts of the archipelago, and probably did so at different times. Whether the Indian<sup>1</sup> contacts of Luzon or of the Bisayas or of Mindanao were the earlier, present understanding of the available knowledge does not enable us to say. It is quite likely that the relations of each of these districts with the more Hinduized nations to the south and west were in part concurrent or overlapping. It is still more likely that some of them were maintained for considerable periods, or resumed at intervals. And it is certain that at least much of what entered the archipelago by these channels was internally diffused from one region of the Philippines to another.

The conclusion to which we are forced is that the history of civilization in the Philippines is a complex one, not capable of solution by any simple guess-like explanation. Any theory of outright race immigration as the chief factor is demonstrably insufficient because of the imperfect correlation between racial and linguistic-cultural phenomena in the islands. The hope that a resolution of this civilization into several obviously separable and still distinct culture strata may be feasible, promises to be equally illusory. Deeper understanding will be attained only through the historical method of painstaking and penetrating analysis, with reintegration deferred until the segregation of cultures and cultural influences into their elements shall have progressed much farther. For this indispensable analysis the ethnological method of intensive consideration of the minimum factors of culture and their geographical distribution is obviously much more promising than the narrowly historical plan of dealing primarily with specific events in their putative time sequence and the attempt to connect large masses of culture with such events.

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<sup>1</sup> "Indian" or "Hindu" refers to civilizational influences emanating from India, without implication that any native of India ever set foot on Philippine soil.













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